

Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 189917 TOSEC 080296

NODIS
FOR UNDERSECRETARY HABIB FROM HOLBROOKE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS), KS, KN, CH, US

SUBJECT: INSTRUCTIONS TO CONSULT WITH ROKG ON SECRETARY'S
DISCUSSION OF KOREA ISSUES WITH THE CHINESE

THE FOLLOWING PROPOSED INSTRUCTION TO TOM STERN IN SEOUL
HAS BEEN APPROVED BY DEPARTMENT AND NSC STAFFS. WE WOULD
APPRECIATE ANY COMMENTS YOU OR, IF YOU WISH, THE SECRE-
TARY MAY HAVE PRIOR TO DISPATCH. WE WOULD LIKE TO PROCEED
PROMPTLY IN ORDER THAT STERN MAY CONTACT PARK AS EARLY AS
THIS WEEKEND. WE HAVE NUMEROUS INDICATIONS THAT THE ROK
LEADERSHIP IS QUITE NERVOUS CONCERNING WHAT THE SECRETARY
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WILL PROPOSE CONCERNING KOREA WHILE HE IS IN PEKING, AND
PROMPT AND FULL CONSULTATION WILL BE REASSURING (POSSIBLY
EVEN DAMPENING THEIR CONTINUING SUSPICIONS THAT WE HAVE
ALREADY INITIATED BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH PYONGYANG).

QUOTE:

1. YOU SHOULD SEEK PRIVATE CONSULTATION WITH PRESIDENT PARK AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO DISCUSS KOREA-RELATED ASPECTS OF SECRETARY'S FORTHCOMING VISIT TO PEKING. IN REQUESTING MEETING, YOU SHOULD EMPHASIZE OUR DESIRE TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH ROKG ON THIS SUBJECT PRIOR TO SECRETARY'S TRIP. (FYI: WE HAVE DECIDED NOT RPT NOT TO MAKE SIMILAR APPROACH

THROUGH AMBASSADOR KIM HERE IN VIEW OF SENSITIVITY OF SUBJECT AND KIM'S RECORD OF LEAKING OUR HIGH-LEVEL CONVERSATIONS TO KOREAN PRESS.)

2. AS A FOLLOW-UP TO USG AND ROKG PUBLIC STATEMENTS (E.G. SECRETARY'S JUNE 29 ASIA SOCIETY ADDRESS), PRESIDENT CARTER HAS DETERMINED THAT WE SHOULD PRIVATELY SEEK TO USE THE CHINESE TO EXPLAIN OUR OVERALL POSITION IN KOREA AND IN THIS CONTEXT TO CONVEY A MESSAGE TO NORTH KOREA WHICH ON THE ONE HAND LEAVES NO AMBIGUITY ABOUT OUR SECURITY COMMITMENT TO THE ROK AND ON THE OTHER HAND SUGGESTS WAYS TO BRING ABOUT CONSTRUCTIVE CONTACTS.

3. IN DISCUSSION WITH PARK, YOU SHOULD ASSURE HIM THAT SECRETARY WILL STRONGLY REAFFIRM TO PRC LEADERS CONTINUING USG COMMITMENT TO THE SECURITY OF THE ROK AND OUR HOPE THAT PRC WILL IMPRESS UPON NORTH KOREA NEED TO AVOID ANY ADVENTURISM WHICH WOULD ADVERSELY AFFECT SECURITY SITUATION ON KOREAN PENINSULA. AT THE SAME TIME WE WILL WISH TO
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IMPRESS UPON PRC OUR DESIRE TO PROMOTE STABILITY IN THE AREA BY FINDING SOME WAY TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS WHICH WOULD OFFER AN OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL PARTIES MOST IMMEDIATELY CONCERNED TO EXPLORE MORE PERMANENT AND PEACEFUL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE KOREAN PENINSULA.

4. SECRETARY WILL EXPRESS APPRECIATION TO CHINESE FOR THEIR TACIT COOPERATION IN AVOIDING WAR AND REDUCING TENSIONS IN KOREAN PENINSULA. NOW, HOWEVER, OUR RELATIONSHIP REQUIRES THAT CHINESE GO BEYOND THESE STEPS TO POSITIVE COOPERATION AIMED AT INDUCING A MORE FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE IN PYONGYANG TOWARD A MEANINGFUL NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE WHICH COULD BRING ABOUT A MORE STABLE AND PEACEFUL SITUATION. SECRETARY WILL EMPHASIZE THAT OUR MILITARY PRESENCE IN KOREA IS SOLELY TO ENSURE STABILITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA. THE COUNTERPART TO OUR GROUND TROOP WITHDRAWALS NEEDS TO BE SATISFACTORY POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS TO REDUCE TENSIONS. AS WE PROCEED TO PHASED TROOP DRAW-DOWN, WE WILL CAREFULLY TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION PARALLEL PROGRESS WHICH WE HOPE TO SEE IN POLITICAL FIELD. CHINESE CAN BE MOST HELPFUL IN THIS REGARD AND OUR COMMON INTERESTS DICTATE EFFORT AT SOLUTION.

5. DURING HIS DISCUSSIONS IN PEKING, THE SECRETARY WOULD RENEW OUR OFFER TO CONVENE A POLITICAL CONFERENCE INCLUDING THE FOUR POWERS MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED WITH THE MAINTENANCE OF THE ARMISTICE (THE U.S., PRC, ROK, AND NORTH KOREA), BUT INDICATE TO THE CHINESE THAT WE ARE FLEXIBLE ON THE MODALITIES OF USG PARTICIPATION. (FOR EXAMPLE, THE USG AND PRC MIGHT SIT IN MERELY AS OBSERVERS IN THE EARLY STAGES OF THE DISCUSSIONS.) ALTERNATIVELY, IF THE CHINESE CHOOSE NOT TO PARTICIPATE AT ALL, WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO JOIN IN TRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA TO CONSIDER MATTERS OF MUTUAL CONCERN, INCLUDING THE FUTURE OF THE UN COMMAND AND OTHER MEASURES TO REDUCE TENSIONS.

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6. IN CONSULTATION WITH PARK, YOU SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT DISCUSSIONS WITH CHINESE WILL CLEARLY PRESERVE OUR FUNDAMENTAL INSISTENCE THAT THE ROK BE A FULL PARTICIPANT IN ANY DISCUSSIONS ON THE FUTURE OF THE KOREAN PENINSULA. BY CONVEYING OUR PROPOSALS PRIVATELY AT A VERY HIGH LEVEL IN PEKING, WE WOULD HOPE TO MAXIMIZE THE PROSPECT OF A CONSTRUCTIVE NORTH KOREAN RESPONSE AND ENGAGE THE CHINESE MORE DIRECTLY IN THE PROBLEM. FAILURE TO RESPOND WILL CLEARLY PLACE RESPONSIBILITY ON THE NORTH FOR ANY LACK OF DIALOGUE.

7. IN THE COURSE OF YOUR CONSULTATION, YOU SHOULD SEEK PARK'S VIEWS CONCERNING OTHER POSSIBLE JOINT OR PARALLEL INITIATIVES WHICH WE SHOULD UNDERTAKE IN THE MONTHS TO COME TO INITIATE CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION OR CAST CLEAR FOCUS ON THE NORTH KOREAN RESPONSIBILITY FOR FAILURE TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD MORE PERMANENT AND PEACEFUL ARRANGEMENTS ON THE PENINSULA.

8. YOU SHOULD ALSO INFORM PARK THAT IN PRESS CONTACTS PRIOR TO CHINA TRIP THE SECRETARY WILL MERELY ACKNOWLEDGE THAT HE WILL NATURALLY BE DISCUSSING THE PROBLEMS OF THE AREA, INCLUDING PEACE AND SECURITY, AND THAT WE EXPECT KOREA WILL BE DISCUSSED. FOLLOWING THE VISIT, SECRETARY WOULD PROBABLY WISH TO GO SOMEWHAT FURTHER AND INDICATE THAT HE REAFFIRMED TO PRC LEADERS THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO MEET WITH NORTH KOREA IN A CONTEXT WHICH INCLUDED ROKG. SPECIFIC INITIATIVES WHICH WE WILL ASK PEKING TO TRANSMIT TO PYONGYANG WOULD NOT BE MENTIONED PUBLICLY AND WE HOPE ROKG WILL ALSO CLOSELY HOLD DETAILS OF OUR INITIATIVE AND CONSULTATION.

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11. YOU MAY INDICATE THAT WE WILL CONSULT LATER REGARDING
AN APPROPRIATE STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY AT THIS AUTUMN'S
UNGA DEALING WITH KOREA. UNQUOTE
CHRISTOPHER

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